5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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making salt were described to me, the housewife depends mainly on trade salt. Meals never consist of more than one course. Plates, forks and spoons are owned by all households but people do not always use them. While boiling is the most common way of preparing food, bananas, yams and breadfruit are usually roasted. Meat is often preserved by daily smoking, sometimes for long periods. There is a rule against eating meat 'in lent' and this is kept very strictly, but probably for traditional religious reasons to be discussed later. The main drink with meals is a soup consisting of the water in which the vegetables and herbs were cooked.

Foraging. A good deal of plant and animal food is obtained from foraging, especially in the tropical rain forest which covers most of the Northern District. Among foraged animal foods I would mention especially grubs, frogs, snails, rats, bush eggs and lice. Foraged plant foods are especially valued during the dry season when roots, leaves and fern fronds may make up part of a meal. Savoury herbs and leaves, however, are collected at all times of the year. Some food plants, though growing in the forest, are owned by individuals so that the gathering of these plants may be better described as harvesting than collecting. The most important are the *tauga* and *puga* nut, sago, breadfruit, wild fig, and fruiting pandanus.[4]

Hunting. According to Waddell and Krinks, about two man-hours weekly are spent on hunting (3.7 hours by men and 0.3 hours by women). Hunting patterns on the Mount Lamington foothills differ widely from those on the alluvial plains where kunai grass is widespread. On the foothills, there is hunting in reverted gardens and in very limited areas of virgin bush. The usual quarry consists of small marsupials and birds. If a pig is encountered, it is invariably a village pig whose owner has a claim to the carcase. The game population was virtually exterminated after the introduction of guns in the 1950s. In the kunai country, on the other hand, hunting land is abundant. The technique is by firing the kunai so that the animals can be shot when they escape. Such a hunt requires a large number of men who ring the burnt-over area. Not only marsupials but also pigs are killed, either by gunfire or by being roasted alive in the kunai grass. By no means all animals killed in the fire are retrieved. Fires tend to get out of hand and to spread over surrounding bush land which then is often covered with kunai grass and so is useless for purposes of cultivation.

Fishing. The supply of fish has suffered greatly with the introduction of snorkels after the Second World War, as this equipment enabled the Orokaiva to fish out their rivers almost completely in a very short time. Fish is still an important resource, however, in the lower reaches of the huge rivers which run through the Northern District: Kumusi, Ambogo, Girua, Sambogo, etc. In Inonda, the village studied by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Waddell and Krinks (1968), 3.8 man hours per week are spent on fishing, mostly with spears, and the product is used not only for consumption but also for trade. (Inonda people also trade meat and bush eggs.) Many of the villages near the mountain, such as Sivepe, have very little fish. Apart from a few eels and crabs, the rivers contained a small supply of two-inch-long fishes caught in April with a small hand-net used as a scoop. (See Williams 1930:53 for description.)

Animal Husbandry. There are three kinds of domestic livestock: pigs, dogs and fowls. Every man still has one or more small dog which he uses for hunting

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824 772 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 [252] [262] [292] [431] Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift: cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival. Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] [262] [764] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] [146] [231] [235] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 778 [302] [789] [881] [761] [764] Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

political and value system modified in only such minor ways that a withdrawal of Australian power at this stage might well lead to a discarding of many of the innovations. Certainly, this is what many of the villagers fear and what makes them distrust any politicians who are pressing for immediate independence.

Food: The Orokaiva menu is still basically the same as in the past. Taro forms the mainstay of the meal, with various vegetable relishes, while cooking bananas, sweet potatoes and yams are eaten in significant quantities. Sugar beet, coconut and other nuts supplement the diet. Animal foods are eaten only on special occasions. It is the festive diet that has undergone recent changes: trade salt is almost universally used instead of the native product. Fish and game have become rare as a result of the introduction of guns and snorkels. The government pressure against village pig-keeping has resulted in these becoming rarer also. On the other hand, tins of fish and meat are bought in trade stores and may make up for the loss of fresh animal food. Rice is another introduced food, which was first eaten by members of the Papuan constabulary, and distributed on a small scale when the Allies were fighting the Japanese in the Northern District. The first time that a large group of Orokaiva ate rice as a staple diet was during the period in the camps after the eruption. Today, it is a food bought when there are guests or a celebration. It is then eaten as a side dish, together with taro. Tea and sugar have likewise become favoured at festive meals. Coffee, the main cash crop of the district, is totally unknown as a beverage; cocoa is likewise unknown, except as a plantation crop.

Clothing: At the time of the eruption, traditional clothing was universally worn. European clothing was introduced to the villages in the 1950's by young men returning from employment in town. Today, young and old wear European-type clothing except when doing traditional dances. On one occasion a man dressed in full regalia to settle a quarrel with a neighbouring village. This, I was told, added dignity to his embassy. Men wear shirts and shorts; women wear Mother Hubbard type of skirts and blouses, as well as frocks for dressy occasions. Underclothes are not worn, though the Women's Clubs, encouraged by an Australian adviser, have been trying to introduce them. I was told that in Hohorita masculine opposition against this innovation (underclothes for women and children) was quite violent--they ripped them off. This story, however, came from a woman councillor who was not a member of the Sangara tribe. The men wear shirts only when dressed up; normally they are bare above the waist and many of the women likewise, though some of the younger ones affect blouses a good deal of the time, certainly on formal occasions. The causes of this change are not only practise in the schools and mostly in the churches, but also a rather widespread change of fashion. The Anglican Chruch does not stop women from taking communion if they wear nothing above the waist; the pressure is purely one of fashion.